2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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girl in compensation for some great favour shown to her father he pays bride-wealth, but he fixes the amount himself, usually double that paid by a commoner. There will, however, be no negotiation, nor would a commoner ever attempt to recover cattle of the bride-wealth that had died. The king owes no respect to mother-in-law or other relatives by marriage, who all treat him with the same reverence as do other unconnected commoners. No Shilluk woman is particularly reverential to her husband, nor would she take a beating with resigned submission, but a royal wife should kneel with bowed head to receive a whipping should the king wish to punish her. Mr. Heasty informs us that one wife is always appointed head wife and is treated with great respect by all, including the king himself. She acts as intermediary between the other women and the king; she is an elderly woman, usually a widow of a previous king, and holds her appointment until displaced by the king. The king would seldom take a wife from the *ororo* unless she were an unusually attractive woman, because no son of an *ororo* can ever become king.

The king's children are never born in Fashoda. In the fourth or fifth month of her pregnancy the expectant mother is sent with attendants and cattle to some distant village, and here she remains under the protection of the chief until the child is weaned, when she may return to Fashoda. During each subsequent pregnancy she goes to a different village. The child is brought up in its native village, and the cattle that the mother brings with her are its portion. In this village he (or she) should be buried. No special conditions are required for the selection of a locality beyond the strength and discretion of the chief under whose charge the child will grow up and the presence of good grazing ground for the royal herd.[1] Every royal son is recognized as a potential king and is treated with the utmost indulgence and respect; the royal daughters also have their privileges, but are not so highly regarded. The royal daughters are not allowed to marry, it being alleged that it would not be fitting for a woman of royal birth to marry a commoner, while she could not marry a *nyireth*, or the descendants of one, as this would be incestuous. Royal daughters may have lovers, but must not bear children. Mr. Heasty informs us that they may select whom they will, *kwareth*

[1] Mr. Heasty considers that the reason for sending the royal wives away is that the king is ambitious for his sons and hopes that they will start villages for themselves; if they were born in Fashoda they would have no villages of their own. Foreign wives of the king are sent to Shilluk villages in the same way as are Shilluk women.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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be that a married woman considers herself a member of her husband's family, but as a sign of respect addresses her husband's relatives in each case as though she belonged to a younger generation than she does in reality. A custom in vogue among the Shilluk may have some connection with this usage, i.e. widows other than the mother are taken as wives by a man's sons. Further, it is not considered disgraceful for young unmarried sons to sleep with their own father's wives. A young wife may thus see herself as the consort to two generations at once, and address her husband's sisters and parents by those terms that she would use if she were wife of the younger of the two successive mates. A woman still belongs to her own clan after marriage, so it seems strange that she should use the terms employed by her husband. In this connection it must be noted that in some districts husband and wife address one another as *umia* and *nyimia* before the birth of the first child, and that a man calls his wife's sister *nyimia*. This last anomaly may be due to some feeling that the wife is taken into the family of her husband, though no adoption ceremony was discovered. It should be noted that a man calls his wife's sister "sister"; he does not treat her with any ceremony, and if she visits her married sister the husband is not bound by any taboos, though he cannot have connection with her as he can with his *yura*. In certain circumstances (the death or barrenness of a wife) he may marry her.

Everywhere the "in-law" relationship is one that requires much tact, and the Shilluk, as is usual in savage society, show respect by means of ceremonial avoidance. While much emphasis is laid upon the avoidance of persons related by marriage, it should be noted that there is no avoidance between blood-relations—a man does not avoid his mother, sister, or daughter.

A Shilluk avoids all those whom he calls *ora*, of whom the first in importance is the wife's mother. In those parts of the Shilluk country that we visited, avoidance of the mother-in-law implied that a man must not enter her house, and care would be taken never to meet her face to face out of doors. If a man saw his mother-in-law he would take a different road and send a friend to greet her respectfully. We did not find avoidance carried to the length described by Hofmayr, who states that a man may not enter the village in which his mother-in-law dwells; one informant, however, told us that a man might not enter her village until the cows of the bride-wealth had been paid.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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606 The omissions from the " in-law " category are equally important from the woman's point of view. She does not call her husband's 603 parents *ora*, but addresses them as though they were her own grandparents; she treats them with respect, kneels when she hands anything to her father-in-law, and turns her head away when she speaks, but there is no strict avoidance. One of our married informants had his mother living with him; she had a separate hut in his enclosure, but she and his wife could eat together if they wished.

A man calls his son's wife *kware*, grandchild; she falls into the category of wives of a clansman with whom sexual intercourse is inadmissable, and no doubt the ceremonial behaviour observed between grandchildren and grandparents is also followed between a man and his son's wife. It has been noted before that a woman uses terms to her husband's relatives that she would use to her own relatives of a generation older, and the custom of consorting with the husband's son and being inherited by him has been suggested as a reason for this.

602 We have seen that there are certain other women who are treated in the same ceremonial manner as are the *ora*; these are wives of relatives, some, but not all, of whom are clansmen (see p. 61). These women fall into sharp contrast with those other women (wives of clansmen, the *wa* and the *uwa*) with whom connection is permitted during the life of the husband and who may possibly be inherited after his death.

583 Young people are free to marry the partner of their choice so long as clan exogamy is observed and no genealogical relationship [582] can be traced on the mother's side. Every Shilluk youth is interested in the marriage of his sister and of his father's sister's daughter, for he receives cattle from their bride-wealth and without cattle he cannot himself marry; it is true that his father and his father's sister will assist him to collect cattle for his bride-wealth, but how can they get these except from the marriage of their daughters? ● [593] A father who used his cattle to marry extra wives while his own 620 sons remained unmarried would be regarded generally with disfavour. The breaking of a marriage—divorce—means the return of cattle 583 to the bridegroom, a difficult matter, as though the bride-wealth is 586 paid to one man, the bride's father or brother, it is immediately distributed and may soon play its part in another's marriage. Thus 607 a man has every reason to desire his sister's marriage to be stable. Yet, in the rules of behaviour that are customary between persons

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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584 had been handed over. When she grew up her father wished to arrange another marriage for her, but was obliged to repay the cow.

586 Mr. Heasty sent the following information concerning the disposal of children after divorce. If the bride-wealth is not returned the children will remain with their father, but if it is returned—and this really constitutes divorce—the husband has to give up the children. The new husband who provides the bride-wealth will take the children and they will become members of his *kwa*. When such lads grow up the true father will often entice them back; this is becoming a common practice, but was formerly confined to members of the *kwareh*.

598 The position of children born out of wedlock shows the same principle as is seen in the treatment of children after divorce, viz. the importance of the bride-wealth in establishing sociological fatherhood, physiological fatherhood having no legal importance. If a girl has one child before marriage the child belongs to the husband who provides the bride-wealth, which would be the same as if she had no child. But if she has two children then her father would keep them, they would be members of his *kwa* and he would accept less bride-wealth. This, however, seldom happens, as girls are usually betrothed as soon as they reach puberty.

684 The fine for adultery was said to be seven head of cattle—four cows and three bulls—but the number varied, and it may be supposed that the adultery fine would be less than the bride-wealth; three cows and one bull seem a usual fine. Mr. Heasty states that if a girl who is betrothed becomes pregnant by another man the lover will pay seven head of cattle to the father, but the child will belong to her future husband, who has provided the bride-wealth. Unconfessed adultery was said to cause the death of the child.

A fine is paid for seduction, but it seems that many cases that come up for judgment are really those in which a girl betrothed to another man willingly goes to a lover. It must then be decided whether the latter pays a fine or provides bride-wealth and marries the girl.

515 There is no objection to a man marrying two or more sisters, but, unless the second sister is taken in place of the first because the latter has proved barren, full bride-wealth must pass for each.

706 Hofmayr states that if a man of importance dies between the time
582 of betrothal and marriage a ceremony having as its object the provision

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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one at his first dance, and later on any occasion that he may wish to celebrate. Names are commemorated in poetry.[1]

Twins are welcomed and spoken of as *nuole juok*, literally "children of God"; the first is called Angar, the second Tian. The next child born after twins is called Nabol.

Children are brought up in the house of their father. There is no segregation of the sexes, brother and sister grow up together and may play together, and a boy may beat his sisters if he considers them unruly. The chosen companions of boys appear to be their *uwa* (brothers and ortho-cousins) and of girls their *nyiwa* (sisters and ortho-cousins). Cousins, the children of two brothers or two sisters, may play together in the same way as brothers and sisters, but as a hamlet constitutes the habitation of a group with male descent the children of the brothers are likely to see most of each other when young. If married brothers and sisters happen to live near one another their children—who would be *una*, *nyina*, *uwaja*, and *nywaja* to each other—will have opportunities of meeting, and it seemed that there was no restriction on those of opposite sexes playing together. As women go to live in the *gol* of their husbands, the children of two sisters are unlikely to see much of each other, so that the *una nyina* relationship is unlikely to be an intimate one.

There is a certain definite relationship between children and their mother's brother (*na*). It is the mother's brother who usually gives a boy his first spear; he also has a right to some of the cattle given as bride-wealth for his sister's daughter, and might perhaps influence her in her choice of a husband. A girl, considered particularly good-looking, married a Dinka, and it was said that her father and *na* persuaded her to reject her Shilluk suitors and accept the Dinka because he could give many more cattle than the Shilluk. Though the *na* always takes a portion of his sister's daughter's bride-wealth, inheritance being from the father to the son he leaves nothing to his sister's children; his own sons, however, inherit his lien on the bride-wealth of the *nyuka*, i.e. of their own *nywaja* (father's sister's daughter). If a man is well off he may give his sister's son some cattle when he wants to get married, but this is a gift, not an obligation. At a funeral the principal duties fall on the son, but at the final sacrifice the sister's son must sacrifice a sheep or a bull, according to his means.

The *waja* (father's sister) always contributes two head of cattle

[1] Hofmayr, *op. cit.*, 277.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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grouped together in battle, and still eat together ceremoniously, e.g. at mourning feasts. The *kwanyárak* have their foreheads scarred in the same manner as commoners. Lines of scar marks are also made on the breast, across the shoulder blade, and two rectangular masses above the umbilicus; these are considered to have no tribal significance but are done for the sake of adornment and are said to be admired by the opposite sex.

We are indebted to Mr. Henry for a note on Shilluk customs, which seem to indicate that the milk avoidances of the Nilotes are dependent on fear of contamination associated with the sexual act.

A young woman does not drink milk under any circumstances, though a woman who is nursing a baby may, as do old women past the reproductive age. Only small boys herd the cattle and milk them, for once a boy has reached maturity there is the danger that he may have had sexual contact, when if he milked, or handled manure, or even walked among the cattle in their pens, he would cause them to become sterile. These beliefs are held so strongly that a child who goes to his neighbours to drink milk must have a bath before he returns home, lest milk might adhere to him, be mixed with food, and he eaten by someone who was unclean. If a man has had sexual relations with his wife or another he is considered unclean and does not drink milk until the sun has set the following day. Mr. Henry could not discover that anyone objected to drinking milk drawn by himself, nor does anyone avoid taking milk and meat together. The pottery vessels used for milk are not used for any other purpose.

A woman cooks for her husband and leaves the hut while he eats, but it is not shameful for men and women to be seen eating together, and after a man has eaten the main part of a meal a woman and her friends, usually her unmarried *nyiwa* (if her *gol* is not distant), may sit and eat while he continues his meal. A newly married couple do not eat together. Small reed mats called *pare* are used to put over pots of food to keep off flies and dust, and out of respect a woman might stand one of these upright to screen her face while eating or drinking.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 F223 Shilluk F223

III. FAMILY LIFE.

When a young man wants to marry, he himself asks the girl he has selected; if she assents, she directs her lover to her parents and the old people of the village; if these also do not object, they ask him to bring the dowry, which consists of cattle. From four to six head of cows and one which now is the ordinary price for a woman, besides a number of sheep and goats. But the whole of this dowry is in most cases not paid to the father-in-law at once, before the marriage takes place. One ox is paid to the elders of the village when they arrange the marriage business, one or more at the celebration of the marriage, another when the first child is born. The ox which is slaughtered at the marriage festival is driven to the village of the bride by all the young men of the bridegroom's village. They decorate this ox by tying tassels of cows' tails on the top of the horns. In case the horns have not a good shape for tying these tassels, they are pierced and the tassels are fastened in the holes. A young man in buying an ox is always particular about the shape of the horns for this reason. On the marriage festival vide page 579. — A man cannot reach a social position without being married, and he cannot get a wife without cattle; so every young Shilluk's highest ambition consists in procuring cattle in order to buy a wife. But, as already mentioned, they usually marry before the full dowry is paid, and in such a case the debts of the young husband may increase the source of quarrels between husband and wife, and still more between husband and father-in-law. As long as the price is not paid, the father has a legal right to take his daughter back from her husband; but this, though often threatened, is seldom done. Those who have sufficient means will as a rule not be satisfied with one wife, but marry a second and a third; only a very few exceed this number.

A young man may not marry a girl from his own division or clan, (vide page 127 ff.) but from any other division; the girl may live in the same village or in any other village, but they prefer to marry in a distant village. These marriage laws are a well established tribal custom, and people fear to break them, lest death follow marriage.

The position of the woman is on the whole a higher one than with most Mohammedan peoples of the Sudan. She is generally well treated and is shown considerable respect. The women sometimes take part in public assemblies with the men, discuss the affairs that interest them and partake in funeral and religious ceremonies. Even in their war-dances the women play an active rôle, vide page XXXIII. — Ordinarily or long, the man may give his wife a thrashing with a rope.

When a man dies, and he has children, his property is taken by the eldest

*537 921 578 593 626 son; the younger son (or sons) remains without anything. All the cattle too are taken by the eldest son; and if the eldest son is good, he divides the cattle between himself and his brothers, but if he is bad, he keeps all the cattle for himself. In this case they fight, and the cattle is taken away (by force) by the younger brother (or brothers). But then all the people come, and they talk about the matter, and they say (to the younger brothers) thus: "Why, your elder brother, he refused to give you cattle, and now you want to keep it all? What for? If later on any debts (which your father may have contracted or which may fall on you) appear, you being his sole heir, will have to pay all; so the people divide the cattle; the elder brother gets his part, and the younger one gets his part. After that they again hold a big palaver, and they make friends; water is poured on the ground, and so they are reconciled. The eldest son gets many cows (or property), because he is the chief of the family, the younger one does not get so much. And if afterwards any debts are to be paid, the elder son will pay them, the younger remaining free. The younger brother marries a wife with his cattle; that is all, thus the matter is settled.

*539 597 926 611 The wives of the dead man are treated (done with) thus: the elder brother of the dead man comes and takes one, and the younger brother also comes and takes one.[1] And if they beget children from these wives, they belong to the family of the dead man; they are (like) his (own) children (they live in the house of the eldest brother.) The eldest wife of the deceased, the mother of the children, remains with the eldest brother. — So is it exactly.

18. Murder.

*539 [illegible]

*539 612 A man hides in an ambush; when he perceives his adversary, he comes out and stabs him, and he stabs him a second time. Then this man (the murderer) runs away home, and comes to tell the people of his village: "I have killed a man last night." Then the drum is beaten, the people come out from their houses, and

[1] The sons marry their father's wives, but not their own mother.

20. A Quarrel between Husband and Wife.

Jol mɔ̈ŋ̈ɔ c nwɔŋwɔŋ. Ke nam a ɟɛnkɛ kɛ̈ŋɔ, c kɛ̈ŋɔ yé; ka jɔl gwí wɛ̈ɲ̈, kɛ̈ɲɛ: à, ga yí ŋɔ? Yo kɛ kɛ̈ɲɛ. Ke nam a ɟɛnkɛ ka lɛ̈ɲɛɛ nɔ̈ɲ̈. Ke gɛ wɔ̈ɲɔ, ka gɛ tɛ̈ŋ yí kɛ̈ɲɛ; chɛnɛ nɔ̈ lɛ̈ɲɛ ɟɛn, ka nɛ̈ɲɔ̈ kɛ̈ɛ̈ɛ̈ mɔ̈ɲ̈ɔ̈ yí kɛ̈ɲɛ.

Ke gɛ kɛ̈ɲ̈ɛ̈ kɛ̈ kɛɲɔ̈ŋ̈ kɛ lɛ̈ɲɛ, ka nam a ɟɛnkɛ lɛ̈nɛ wɛ̈t (ŋɛ̈ŋ̈), c kɛ̈ŋɔ gɛn chɛnɛ. Ke gɛ tɛ̈ŋɔ, gɛ kɛ̈ɛ̈ŋ̈ lɛ̈ɲɛ, ka gɛ ɟɛ̈ɛ̈ɛ̈ gɛn; nam a ɟɛnkɛ kɛchɛ gɛ̈n, nam a ɟɛnkɛ ɟɛŋɔŋ kɛ̈ ɟɛŋɛ wɛ̈t. Kɛ̈ gɛ nɛ̈mɔ̈, ka nɔ̈ kɛ: á, ɟɛnɛ, chɛ (cha) ɗɛŋɛ́ c wɛnɛ mɔ̈ɲɛ́ (wɛ̈ɛ̈), nɛ̈mɔ̈ ɟɛnɛ́! Ke gɛ nɛ̈mɔ̈. Ke gɛ ɟɛ̈ɛ̈ŋ̈ kɛ̈ lɛ̈ɲɛ. Ke nam a ɟɛnkɛ ɟɛ̈ɛ̈ŋ̈ kɛ̈ɲɛ: nɛ̈mɔ̈n, a kɛ̈ɛ̈ŋ̈? a ga ro wa ro? Jol a kɛ: í ɲɛɲɛ-ŋɛɲɛ! ɟɛɛ̈ ɟɛ̈ɛ̈ɛ̈! Kɛ̈ɲɛ: kɛɲɔ̈ŋ̈? Kɛ̈ɲɛ: chɛ̈ ro a wɛ̈ɛ̈ɛ̈ ɛɛ kɛɛ̈ɛ̈? kɛ: á, ɟɛ̈ɛ̈ɛ̈ gɛn a kɛ̈ɛ̈ɛ̈ nɛ̈ɛ̈ kɛ̈ɲɛ: ɛɛ yí ŋɔ? Ka nɔ̈l gwí kɛ̈ɛ̈ɛ̈ wɛ̈ɛ̈; ka wɛ̈ɛ̈ chɛnɛ̈ɛ̈, ka c kɛ̈ŋɔ; c kɛ: á, ɲɛɲɛ̈ɛ̈ nɛ̈ nɛ̈ɛ̈, wɛ̈ɛ̈ ɛɛ ɟɛ̈ɛ̈ɛ̈! kɛ̈ɲɛ: kɛɲɔ̈ŋ̈? Kɛ̈ɲɛ: á, ɲɛɲɛ̈ɛ̈ ɛɛɛ! A ɲɛɲɛ̈ wɛ̈ɛ̈ gwí, kɛ̈ɲɛ: wɛ̈ɛ̈n! á kɛ̈ɛ̈ɛ̈? A kɛ̈ɛ̈ ɛɛɛ, chɛ wɛ̈ɛ̈ɛ̈ gɛ ɟɛ̈ɛ̈ɛ̈! Kɛ̈ɲɛ: á, kɛɛ̈ɛ̈ɛ̈ gɛ̈n! Ŋɔ ɲɛɲɛ, á kɛɛ̈ɲ̈? Yo kɛ̈ɛ̈ɛ̈ yí ɛɛɛ; c kɛ̈ɛ̈ɛ̈ kɛ̈ɲɛ: ɛɛ ɛ yí ŋɔ? Kɛɛ gwí ɛɛɛɛ; ɛɛɛ (ɲɛɲɛ) kɛ̈ɛ̈ɛ̈. Kɛ̈ɲɛ: ɛ̈ɛ̈! A tɛɛ yí kɛɛ̈ɛ̈, c kɛ̈ɛ̈ ɲɛ kɛ̈ kɛɛ̈ɛ̈ kɛɛ̈ɛ̈, c kɛ̈ɛ̈ gɛn chɛnɛ wɛ̈t, ɲɛ ɗɛ̈ɛ̈. Ɲɛɛ̈ kɛɛ̈ gwí ɛɛɛɛ? c kɛɛ̈ɲ̈, c kɛ̈ɛ̈ɛ̈ kɛ̈ɲɛ: ɛɛɛ̈, chɛ ɗɛŋɛ́ c wɛnɛ kɛɛ̈ɛ̈? c nɛ̈mɔ̈ ɲɛɛ̈, ɛɛɛ̈ kɛ̈ɛ̈ɛ̈, kɛ̈ɲɛ: ɲɛ́ wɛ̈n! A kɛ̈ɛ̈ɛ̈: nɛ ɲɛɲɛ! ɲɛɛ̈ ɲɛɛ̈ɛ̈! A kɛ̈ɛ̈ɛ kɛ̈ɲɛ: kɛɛ̈! nɛ ɲɛɛ c kɛɛ̈ɛ̈ ɛɛɛ̈, kɛ̈ɲɛ: ɛɛ yí ŋɔ? Ɲɛɛ̈ kɛɛ̈ gwí c kɛɛ nɛɛɛ? A kɛɛ̈ɛ gɛn chɛnɛ; c ɲɛɛ̈ɛ̈. A kɛ̈ɛ̈ wɛɲ̈ nɛ̈ɛ̈ ɛɛɛ̈: yí kɛɛɛɛ kɛɲɛɲɛ̈? Aá? chɛ̈ kɛɛ̈ɛ̈ɛ c kɛɛ̈ɛ̈ yí ɛɛɛ! A kɛ̈ɛ̈ kɛ̈ɲɛ: kɛɲɛɲɛ̈? Yí ɗɛ̈, c nɛ̈ɛ̈ ɛɛ kɛɛ̈ɛ̈! Yí nɛ (ɲɛ́) kɛɛɛ! ɗɛɲɛ́ ɲɛɛɛɛ ɲɛɛ. A kɛɛ̈, c kɛ̈ɛ̈ wɛɲ̈, wɛɛ kɛɲɛ́, c kɛɛ̈ kɛɲɛɛ ɲɛ́, c ɲɛɛ̈ kɛɛɛ.

A certain man had married a woman. One day his wife came and brought him water (to wash his hands, as is the custom before eating). But the man was angry, and so he said: "What is that water for? I am not hungry." Thereupon the woman went outside, she too was cross. When they went to sleep, they were troubled by hunger (both having eaten nothing). The man tried to lie down, but his eyes refused to close on account of hunger.

In order to get something to eat, the man with a friend (who lived in the same house) went to steal corn. But in the meantime the woman had prepared food and came into the house, after the men had gone. After some time they returned, bringing with them the stolen corn. They sat down in the house, but did not know that the woman too was there; she hid in a corner of the house. And the two men ate. They talked to each other: "Ah, brother, you have a thick ear of corn there, just let me touch it!" And he touched it. So they ate the corn from the ears. Suddenly the woman asked: "My brothers, how? Why do you bring such shame upon me (by stealing corn and not eating the food I have prepared)?" Then the man said: "You cursed woman, loosen my cattle." She asked: "Why?" He said: "Why do you leave me hungry?" She

* This is the formula for: "I will be divorced from you." Loosen the cattle (give back the cattle) which I have paid (over) father for you.

replied: "Not so! did you not say yesterday: what is the water for?" The man went out, he called his wife's father. When the father came, he said to him: "Ask your daughter (what has happened), and then give me my cows." The father asked: "Why?" He said: "Just ask her!" He asked the girl, saying: "Girl, how is this? The man says he wants his cattle back!" She replied: "I don't know." The father said: "You cursed girl, tell me all about it!" So she told: "Yesterday I brought water, then he said: 'What is that water for?' That is the matter. Then I went out." The father said: "All right." The woman continued: "In the night he was troubled with hunger, therefore they went to steal corn; in the meantime I brought the food, and saw that they were gone. Is not that the matter? And then, when they were eating, one said to the other: 'Brother, what a big corn-ear you have?' Then I said: 'Have an I?' And he said: 'You cursed woman, loosen my cattle!' And I replied: 'Dear me, was it not you who refused yesterday saying: what is the water for?' Is not that the whole matter? I brought food, and he cursed!' After that the father of the girl said to the husband of his daughter: 'Why did you steal? How is that? Restore me my corn which you have stolen?'[1] The man said: 'Why? why was I left hungry?' The father only replied: "You are a thief! I will give you back your cattle." — When the husband heard that, he brought an ox for reconciliation, with that he reconciled, he reconciled his father-in-law, and so the matter was settled.

21. The Husband who wanted to cook.

Jal wiiŋ ej kiɔk yuŋiŋ: ke kiɔc ɣiɔc ɣiŋ kiɔc: ŋ nin, yo ŋiɔc ɣal?' Ke ɲaac ɣiɔkŋ ke: ŋiɔk! Ka c ke: kɔk, ɣiɔ ŋiɔk ɣe! ɣiŋ ɣiɔc wɔkɔɔl ɣi ɣiɔ. Ke ŋ ɣiɔk. Ke c kɔk, ke kaac ŋɔŋ, ke ciŋi ɲaaɲ wɔɔl, ke ɣɔ ej yɔŋ, ke ɣɔ ej kiɔŋ ɲaa. Ke kaac ciŋɔɔ, ke wiŋ ɲaa ɲaac ɣi ɣɔɔc, ke kaac ŋiɔŋ, ke kaŋi daaɲ ŋiɔc ɲaa-ɣɔɔ ɣɔɔc. Ke waɲ e ɣiɔc wɔŋiɔɔ: ke c kiɔŋ ɣɔɔc ciŋi.[2]

Ke ɣiɔ ciaac e ɲaac kɔ ciaac, e kiɔŋ ɲaa, ke ɲaac e ɣiɔkŋ kɔɔc wɔk, ke ɲaa ɲaaŋ, ke ɣɔ ɣɔŋ e ŋiɔ, ciŋi ɲaɲaŋ. Kiɔc: kɔ, ŋ ɣo ŋiɔ wɔl? Ke ej kaŋ ɲaa, ke ej ɣiɔcɔ wɔɔl, ke ej ɣɔɔɔ, kiɔc: kɔk, kɔ! Kaaɲ e kaac ɲaŋɔɔ. Ke ɲaa ɣɔɔ ɣɔɔ ke: ŋ ɣiɔ ŋiɔ? Kiɔc: ŋ, ɲaɔ ɣiɔ ej kaaɲ! wɔl ɲaa-ŋiɔɔ, ciaaɲiɔ: ej ciaaɲ ciaaɲiɔ ɣi ej ciaac ciŋi, ke ŋiɔc ɣiɔ ciaac e ɲiɔ, e ŋiɔc ciŋi ɲaa. Kɔɔ ɣɔɔ ɲaaɲ, ŋ ciaaɲiɔ ɣiɔ ciaac ɣi ciŋi. A kiŋi ɲaa e ɣiɔkŋ kiɔc: wiŋ ciaac, ɣi ɲaɔc ɲaaɲ ej ciŋi?' Yi ɲo ŋiɔc ɣal kiɔc. Kɔɔ ɣɔɔ ɲaaɲ: e ɣiɔkŋ ɲaa e ɣiɔkŋ wɔɔl, e ŋiɔc ɣiɔ ciaac, e ciaaɲ, ke ciaaɲ wiŋɔɔ.

A certain man was very thin, and he said to his wife: "I say, my wife, I will cook in place of you." The woman said: "All [illegible] Why, cooking is a good thing, a man grows fat from cooking." So he cooked.

[1] The man had — without knowing it — stolen the corn of his father-in-law.
[2] "I will cook later", or: "do later, cooking": I will cook other, instead of you.
[3] He considered thinking of the food.

15: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1926 F J23 Shilluk F J23

clan. In the fights the last class to be initiated is placed in the rear, and the other men endeavour to protect them. The older men fear that if these lads, who are still novices, should be wounded they might cry out in their suffering and weaken the hearts of the older fighting men.

When a young man feels that he is old enough to dance, he usually goes to his father or guardian and asks permission. If the father gives his consent, the lad gets the ostrich eggshell beads (rik) and the dancing skin (okwar). He may also get the giraffe tail necklace (wbi). Then when a dance occurs in some near-by village he adorns himself with all the ornaments that he can get. The skin and the beads must be tied on him with ceremony the first time. The lad selects a man who is popular with the ladies in the mixed dances, and asks him to tie them on him. The man who performs the ceremony takes a string of the ostrich beads and places them about the waist of the lad, as though he expected to tie the rik in place. He then lets it drop almost to the ground, and then brings it again to the waist of the lad. Three times he acts as though he would tie it, and then lets it down again. Then the fourth time he actually ties the string. The skin is tied in the same way. After the skin and beads have been tied once, the young man may tie them for himself on later occasions.

Sometimes the parental permission is not given for the son to dance. The father feels that he is too young to dance. He says, "You are too small and weak, and in a battle you would be killed." Sometimes the son heeds the advice of his father, and waits until he is older and is able to dance with the consent of his father. Other young fellows are more determined, and such a one goes to some man to get him to tie his skin and beads. He usually goes to a man of some other village, because the men of his own village would not care to offend his father. The man usually asks the young man if his father consents, and the son says that he does not. He goes from one to another till he finds a man who will act for him. The ceremony is binding in spite of the father's objections, and the young man cannot be released from his responsibilities. [illegible] If deference to the wishes of his father he does not feel so brave after the period of dancing is over, and he asks someone to go with him to "soften his father." The intercessor kneels before the father with the boy behind him, and he says, "The boy went to a dance. You refused,

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but he grasped it. He asked me to come and see if you are displeased. I have brought him, I give him to you. He is not the only one who has done such a thing, for even of old our boys have so done." If the father says, "I refused because he was small, but I am not angry," the affair is settled, and the boy returns to his home. If the father is angry, and refuses to be reconciled the boy goes home with his friend. The friend then undertakes to make a reconciliation. He gives the father a present, which is usually a sheep or a spear. If the present is refused he will send other and greater presents until the father accepts, and the acceptance implies that the son has been forgiven.

Young men who are initiated to the dance the same year usually have a kindred feeling for each other. When the village goes forth to battle, the ones initiated last and the old men are supposed to be in the rear, so that they will be protected by the stronger fighting men. In a fight, men who have been initiated the same year usually keep together, though that is not always the case. When a feud begins between two villages there are men in each faction who were initiated the same year. While the men go forth by villages, yet their fights are broken up into a number of personal combats. Many men refuse to contend against men who were initiated in their class, and when they find themselves near such men, they move on to seek different foes. On the other hand, others seek to engage men of their own class. Perhaps they follow the analogy of a family, for the most bitter fighting occurs when a family is divided.

After the young man is prepared for the dance he joins the young men of his village who are going to the dance, though he must keep in the rear. In the dances the men go through a regular form, which is largely military in nature. The novice takes part in all of these movements though he must keep to the rear. Then the mixed dances begin, and then comes the real test for the young man. In the mixed dances the woman asks the man to be her partner. Happy indeed is the young man who is asked by some woman at his first dance. He says of the first woman who asks him to dance, "She cut my cloth (left hand)." [illegible] dance cannot be a relative, nor may she be a married woman, though a girl who is engaged may ask him to dance. It is preferred that the girl asking him to dance should belong to a different sub-tribe (kwöt).

After a boy has danced for a year or two, he may dance with a married woman who has no children. After another lapse of time he is eligible to dance with the mother of one child, and so on until he is eligible to dance with any woman. A man never dances with his own wife. Often the girl who first dances with a boy is in love with him, and sometimes they later get married. Such marriages are usually happy. If a young man is not asked by a girl to dance with her within two or three years of his initiation, it is not likely that any girl will ask him to dance with her, as the other girls would ridicule her for dancing with an unpopular man. Such a man usually experiences difficulty in getting a wife, as no woman wants to marry a man who is unpopular with the women. The mother of the young man who has been asked to dance prepares a feast for the girl who asked him to dance, and sometimes the girl prepares a return feast for the young man and some of his friends. Many an old man speaks with great respect of the girl who first asked him to dance. When a man is dancing with a woman he calls her (cigi) " my wife."

If a boy makes unseemly haste to call on the young ladies after his initiation, his father is angry, and says, " Is your reason for dancing to get the right to call on the women ? "

After a boy has danced he takes a second name. He may choose his own name, often from something he has done, or from a cow he has bought. If he cannot think of a suitable name he may ask his friends for suggestions. In some cases an older man may go to him and say, " Do you have a name ? " If he replies in the negative, the man may make a suggestion. The boy does not announce his name to his parents. They may hear his young friends call him by his new name, and they ask, " Is that his name now ? "

If a man dies leaving only a small son[who has not danced, they say, " His property is on the ground (yuŋ yo piŋ). Later when the boy has danced, they say his property has been inherited (ɔlukɛ).

People who are of the same age are called (kɔt ayɛ). They are supposed to help each other.

The girls may dance when they are very small, but they must wear a sheep-skin. Later, when the girl is larger, and her breasts begin to develop (ŋat atɛ) she wears a calf-skin, which is supplied her by her father. If she has no father or close male relative to get her a calf-skin, she will wear the sheep-skin until she is married, and then her husband

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will get her a calf-skin. The mother of the girl is supposed to tie the calf-skin the first time the girl wears it to a dance. If her mother is dead, then a woman the same age as her mother ties it for her.

Some Begging Customs of the Women.

The Shilluk women seem to derive much pleasure from begging for cattle from some of the richer men of the tribe. The occasion is made a holiday for the women of the village, and they go forth in their finest clothes. If the recipient of their honour lives at some distance, the start is made early in the morning, and all the women of the village go. If there are too many women in the village, then the women of a certain age go. The women of two different villages will not unite to go on these expeditions. The proper season for these begging dances is just before the rains begin, though they may be held any time during the dry season.

The women decide upon the man to be honoured by their party before they start. Occasionally, they honour a man from their own village, but in that case they only ask for a sheep. Often they go five or six miles, and sometimes they go as far as fifteen or twenty miles. While they are gone the men must stay at home to care for the babies. Often, on such occasions, a mother will leave a tiny baby at home for the whole day. Usually, they object to leaving their babies at home, but for this event it is different.

The man to be honoured is not warned, lest he hide from them. Should the man they are seeking be absent from the village, the women hang a string of beads made from the shell of the ostrich egg (rak) in the enclosure between his two houses. When he returns, he says, "Who brought this rak?" His wife replies, "The women brought it." He asks, "What do they want?" His wife replies, "An ox." His wife says "They will return." He says, "They will find nothing." His wife replies, "So many should have something, I have children, so many women should not be refused by red lips." When the women return they usually get the ox.

Before the women start on such a trip they choose a leader, unless they already have one. She is called a bgla. She has the powers of a magistrate. If any trouble occurs among the women, she acts as judge. She is crowned with the rak, as the chief of the village is crowned. In

15: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1926 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

future expeditions of the same party she will be chief. In the village she has the right to judge cases that are strictly between women.

A man may refuse to give an ox, making the excuse that he has nothing to give. Then the women will mutter, saying, "He kills us by making us stand in the hot sun." They seem to think he is cheating them. The man's wife may intercede on their behalf. She will put on her husband's cloth, put a rek about her neck, anoints her body with oil, and then takes the chief's spear, and dances among the women. For such a display the chief will usually relent, and tell his young men to bring out the ox. He may be very churlish, and refuse to give them what they desire. They depart, muttering curses on him and his family. If in a short time sickness should occur in his family it is attributed to the ill-will of these women. He sends a messenger to call them. They come and get the ox. He then tells them of the sickness in his family, and the women order ashes to be brought. The women fill their hands with the ashes. They then pray after this manner, "You are God.—We were refused an ox by this chief. He now has sickness. We are no longer angry at him. Permit him to escape." Next they spit on the ashes they hold in their hands, and then sprinkle them all over the members of his household. The women then depart, and the patient recovers.

When the women go to a chief and he gives them an ox, they sprinkle ashes about his house as a blessing. The ox is taken to their village, and it may be killed immediately, though it is more likely to be kept for a time. When the animal is killed the brisket is given to the old men of the village. The old women take the rump, and the younger women divide the remainder of the meat.

A man is glad to have the women come to beg from him, even when he refuses to give them what they desire. It is a great compliment to have the women come, as it shows that his fame has spread abroad as a rich and generous man. Then, too, the ceremony is such as to feed the vanity of the man singled out for the honour. The women usually rush up to the house shouting and singing his praises. They sing songs about his bravery, and tell of his virtues, but the chorus of their song usually is: "Brother, lead out that ox."

After a chief has given an ox, the women go away saying that he is a fine man, and a great chief. The women seem to demand a great deal. Once in a case observed, the ox was given. The women did not watch

15: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1926 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

the animal carefully, and he made his escape, and ran away. It was too much trouble for them to catch the animal, and so they went back to the old chief and demanded that he give them another animal in exchange for the one that had escaped. The new animal was given to them, and they departed. 425 431

Once some women went to dance before a chief, who was away from home. One of his followers, anxious to save the property of his master, took a whip made of hippopotamus hide, and used it freely on the women. They retreated to a considerable distance, and sat down to discuss the matter. At that time the chief returned, and he was distressed when he heard what his follower had done. He made peace with the women, and gave them the ox. [622]

Visitors from other villages are not supposed to go on these trips, nor are they allowed to eat of the meat when the animal is killed. When a woman is married and goes to the village of her husband, she is not allowed to go on these begging trips until after she has lived there a full year. The women might consent, but her husband would be angry, as it might lead to her being led astray. She does not have the right to return to her old home and go with her old friends on their begging expeditions. Women in the advanced stages of pregnancy are not permitted to go on these trips. 425 484 593● [843]

These dances are a great diversion for the women. They are looked upon as memorable occasions. The chief visited may not be in a financial position to afford to give the ox, and yet he gets full value for the animal in the prestige it gives him. 425 556 535

The women have another begging custom that is suggestive of Ruth. When a man threshes his grain he calls in the young men, who beat it out with flails. The women of the man's family winnow the grain. Often the man does not have enough women-folk to do all the work, and other women are called in to help. The helpers get all the grain that is left in the chaff as their portion. 476 462 241

Many women come to beg from the owner of the threshing floor. They do not speak to the owner of the floor, but they make a general statement that they have come to beg. They sit in silence, and watch the progress of the work. They do not ask for grain, but each woman keeps her gourd in a prominent position. When the threshing is finished, the owner of the field fills a basket with grain, and from that basket he 735 241

16: Cann G-5 (ca. 1928) 1929 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Houses are swept out soon after dawn by older women and small girls, and they are responsible for the collection of firewood for cooking purposes.

Very soon after the return of the water-carrying party the sound of dura pounding is heard on all sides, and this work and the preparation of native beer for the household goes on intermittently all day; the meal times for men being about 10 a.m. and 7 p.m., while the women snatch meals at odd hours.

At the time of writing every spare moment of the day is spent by the women in sowing the dura and maize crop around the village, the work proceeding steadily from dawn to dusk.

Even after dark the women have to finish the preparation and serve the evening meal to their men, and, as this is the main meal of the day, woe betide the wife who has not prepared it in time or to the satisfaction of her lord!

At about 5.30 p.m. the small boys return with the goats and sheep, and these—after having been re-united with their offspring—are turned into the *luaks* for the night.

Then smoke fires are lighted in readiness for the cattle which are herded in at dusk, tied up with head ropes, and milked; these duties keep nearly all the men busy until after 7 p.m., soon after which the cultivators return from their labours.

Rather than call the Shilluk a lazy race, let us say that they understand the art of taking their ease restfully!

28: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

756 good fee. It will not be less than two sheep, a fighting spear, a fish spear, a hoe, and a cloth. The patient is then assigned to a separate house.

Both men and women are eligible to become servants of the king, but [562 the women predominate. This ceremony does not release a woman from 593] her husband, but when they become old they may wander about, and follow other men.

People who are not in sympathy with the ceremony are not readily admitted to see the performance. Some say that the hand is held in the boiling oil or butter, but others say that it is barely touched to the oil.

An indication of the fact that the power of Nikawng among the Shilluks is not as great as their professions would indicate, is furnished by comparing the servants of the king with the witch doctors. They work along the same lines, but the powers of the witch doctors are greater. The possessed are supposed to be holy, but they are among the most lustful of the people. They make greater claim to personal piety than the witch doctors, but their lives are no better.

[462] The women of this class are much more active than the men, who are usually idlers.

[726] They are able to give protection, for when a fight is imminent one is called to sprinkle ashes on the warriors, and Nikawng is invoked thus, «Nikawng, this village has your ashes on it, do not give it to death».

[787] They are also able to foretell future events. They often profess to be surprised at their own messages, and they are able to get into communication with the dead.

The chief work of the servants of the king is to cure disease. The so-called cures are nearly always of a magical nature.

775 The spirit of the king may not always be active in the afflicted person,
776 but it comes and goes. When a servant of the king under the power of the
756 spirit makes a statement he is not responsible for what he says, as it is merely a manifestation of the king, but if he does a wrong act under the same guidance, he is held responsible.

756 The actual workings of the servants of the king are not easy to witness, as they do not like to work before a hostile gathering. The tales of their cures told by eye witnesses vary, as they are influenced by their faith or lack of faith in the power of the medium. A few illustrations may be given

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

funeral or some such occasion calling for special feasting. 231
It would tax the ingenuity of a European to devise a system, and keep a battery of clerks in constant employment and a filing cabinet in constant use to keep an up-to-date check on the wanderings of the various animals of any one bride-herd. Not so with the simple Shilluk however. Inside his woolly [181]
head—admittedly not particularly concerned with anything that does not pertain to cattle—he keeps all the details of each individual cow in his herd. He knows all their comings in and goings out, all their risings up and their sittings down. Each cow has a special and distinctive colour and each colour a special and distinctive name and he knows them all and can describe them in detail. He can tell you offhand the life history of any cow; its previous owners as it passed from dowry to dowry eventually to become a member of his, and when he has parted with it, he follows its subsequent career with unflagging interest, can name the various people who have had it since it left his ownership and knows just where it can be found at any given time.

Our young benedict is now happily married and settled 593
down to a life of connubial bliss. But among the Shilluk, as among their more sophisticated Western brethren, the course of true love does not always run smooth. The lady, who in the eyes of her lord is a mere chattel, something that he has [562]
bargained and paid for, must prove that she is up to standard. Not indeed that a Shilluk wife becomes the absolute slave of her husband, bearing all the burdens of the day and the heats, while he passes the rest of his days in slothful idleness. Far from it. Both have their recognized duties and one will [442]
assist the other should occasion call for it; thus the wife will at times assist her husband with the planting, weeding and reaping, whilst he does not consider it beneath his dignity to nurse the baby while his spouse is making the daily trip to the river for water, or to sit for hours monotonously agitating a gourd of milk in the hope that eventually it will turn into butter. But the primary duty of a Shilluk wife is to become a 586
Shilluk mother, and if perchance she proved to be barren

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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awful thought! But can't it be arranged that they will get just a sufficiency, and having no margin for taxes and other such luxuries vill have to come to the mission and make his bricks and put up his buildings to get the money they need?'

And often enough, that is just what does happen. The rains have faild, or have been too plentiful, or fallen too early or too late, and the Shilluk gloomily surveys his ruined crop and lookssadly at the meagre harvest he has gathered. That certainlywon't see him very far through the year, and there is none that he can spare to sell for tax money, and if he doesn't pay that soon, the chief will come down heavily on him and wil impound some of his sheep and goats, or—and he reels vith horror at the bare thought—one of his cows. His wife ceeps nagging him for a new cloth and, as he knows from pat experience, will keep on nagging until she gets it; an ordnary white one is not good enough for her now; she want one of those fancy ones with flowers on, like the teacher's vife is wearing. These women are getting above themselves. The wild idea of selling a cow crosses his mind, but is inmediately dismissed as absurd; he would sooner sell his vife, but anyway, the one idea is as fantastic as the other. Having thus surveyed the whole black situation he comes to the conclusion that has been facing him all the time, but whicl he has tried to evade as being too awful; he will have to goto work. And so, with a sigh, he bids farewell to his beautifuldream of living in luxuriant idleness for the next few month, and reluctantly makes his way towards the mission. The mssionary, although, mind you, he is distressed that the harvest has been a failure, and appalled at the idea of his people being in want, positively purrs with satisfaction when early on Monday morning he sees the crowd that are waiting for employment. He singles out half a dozen good brickmakers, assigns them their labourers and sends them off to the brickfield for the task of clearing up and preparing the mud, as a preliminary to starting the moulding on the morrow. Six go scurrying with water carts to fetch water from the swamps, two to their disgust are armed with shovels and set to work in the sand pit, there to keep the line